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The Cultural Revolution and Educational Stratification: Revolution in Education Revisited

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Shinichi Tanigawa
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INTRODUCTION

In most societies, the social and educational backgrounds of parents significantly influence the educational attainment of children. In general, children raised by more educated and high status parents have a near-universal schooling advantage over those raised by less educated and low status parents. During the Cultural Revolution, China saw a rather unusual pattern of inter-generational influence on educational attainment. Radical educational policies during the Mao period were aimed at boosting the educational levels of children of working class families while curtailing the advantages of those who grew up in a "bourgeois" family environment. The Chinese government, in short, attempted to change, if not reverse, the usual patterns of parental influence on educational attainment through its own kind of affirmative action.

This radical experiment was also preceded by intense debates that involved not only policy makers but also the students themselves. At the elite level, education became a focus of the power struggle between Maoist radicals and more moderately oriented leaders—Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping, etc.—reflecting the increasingly divergent views on the nation's desirable future. Mao and his associates desired to bring up "red," or revolutionary, successors who would carry through the unfinished business of class struggle, while the moderates opted for "experts" necessary for the nation's modernization and development. At the mass level, issues of educational selection fueled student activism and factionalism, making China's schools a major battleground during the early phase of the Cultural Revolution.[1]

Despite their focus on education as a *cause* of student activism, researchers have paid much less attention to *effects* of the Cultural Revolution. We were told, for example, that educational policies *prior to* the Cultural Revolution contributed to the rise of student

activism by intensifying cleavages and penning up frustration among middle school students. But we are just beginning to learn what happened to those students *as a result of* the radical educational experiment.[2] This study seeks to add to the nascent knowledge on the outcomes of the Cultural Revolution by focusing on educational stratification. Employing newly available data, I ask these questions: who were the winners of the battle for educational opportunities in the Cultural Revolution? Who were the losers? Were those patterns similar across educational levels—senior high schools, key-point middle schools, and colleges? And more generally, did the Maoist radical attempt at "destratification" produce an intended result, or something else quite unintended?[3]

EDUCATIONAL STRATIFICATION IN SOCIALIST CHINA

The equalization of opportunity, as well as outcome, was one of the most important agendas for Chinese leaders from the outset of the People's Republic.[4] This stems not only from abstract socialist ideals, but more importantly from their commitment to the well-being of the formerly oppressed classes—laboring peasants and workers—in the name of which the revolution was carried out. Education was the key for this endeavor because in modern industrialized societies it is in way of education that social status is generated and transmitted.

Theoretically, the equalization of educational opportunities can be achieved by two distinct approaches. First, policy makers can increase the number of schools to accommodate a larger proportion of school-age children. In common with many other developing countries, the Chinese government sought to increase educational opportunities for working class children by setting up more schools. Both at primary and secondary levels, the numbers of schools and the proportions of school-age children enrolled

increased steadily from the 1950s through the 1970s.[5]

Recent comparative studies on educational stratification, however, have found that simply adding more schools did not lead to the equalization of opportunities among children with different social backgrounds.[6] To change the persistent pattern of inequality, the "allocation" (the mechanism of selecting and allocating students to levels of education), rather than just the "distribution" (the extent of educational expansion for all students), of educational opportunities has to be changed. That is to say, by changing the rules of the game, the authority has to take away someone's opportunities to compensate others. This inevitably causes conflict among those affected by the measure, and therefore takes much political energy.[7] It is then not surprising that the family class origin (*jieji chengfen*), on which the Chinese Communist affirmative action was based, was first introduced as a selection criterion during the radical years of the Great Leap Forward, and became predominant when Maoist radicals gained the upper hand in educational policy making during the Cultural Revolution.

Educational stratification is above all caused by "cultural capital." Cultural capital refers to knowledge and value orientation transmitted by the family, and valued and rewarded by schools.[8] It includes dominant values, attitudes, language skills, styles of interaction, and understandings of "how the society works." Children from families with a highly educated background are said to possess, or to be more susceptible to, these qualities, and therefore are assessed favorably by schools.

The significance of cultural capital lies in its insidiousness. Theoretically, it can exert influence more or less independent of income and wealth—economic capital. In socialist China, the propertied classes—landlords and rich peasants in the rural areas, and bourgeoisie, or capitalists, in the cities[9]—were thoroughly stripped not only of their

"redundant" properties but also of their traditional prestige through a series of campaigns directed against them. Income and wealth, as well as traditional social status, therefore ceased to be important factors in stratification even before the Cultural Revolution.[10] Offspring of "middle-class" intellectuals,[11] however, continued to benefit from a distinct familial setting in which they acquired not only desirable skills and values, but also higher aspiration[12] and a better understanding of how to get ahead on the social ladder.[13] From this perspective, therefore, it is hardly surprising that children of highly educated middle-class parents were overly represented in the classrooms of elite middle schools and universities in the early 1960s.[14]

In addition to this "old class," the socialist system is said to have bred a "new class" of political office holders. The new class theories posit that power and privilege in socialist societies are monopolized by party officials controlling collective property,[15] as well as by those possessing cultural capital.[16] They imply that once the new class of party officials establishes its privilege and gains control of the school system, its members take steps to secure the educational advantages of their own children. Their power and privilege are based on "political capital": social connections and information networks based on party membership.[17] Those connections provide privileged access to scarce resources such as education.

China was no exception to this rule. As in other socialist revolutions, the People's Republic gave rise to new positions of power and prominence, and a group of new elites—party officials, government administrators, factory managers, brigade officials, and team leaders—who staffed these offices.[18] Once in high positions, it was feared, these new elites may well strive to preserve their privileges and pass them on to their offspring. While the Party adopted policies and campaigns—rectification campaigns, staff

simplification, "sending down" movements, etc.—to limit the influence of the new class, Mao and his allies were increasingly alarmed by this phenomenon. This tendency was in part promoted by the existence of special schools for children of high-rank cadres, and the creation in the early 1960s of the key-point school system. These schools received more attention and investment, and therefore were able to provide better chances for university admission and good jobs.

Despite efforts to extend educational opportunities to a larger number of working-class children, prior to the Cultural Revolution the gap between children of high-status families and those of working-class families continued to exist.[19] The government was not successful in either doing away with the advantages of the old cultural elite or preventing the emerging privileges of the new political elite. In the years preceding the Cultural Revolution, two kinds of students were over-represented in the classrooms of elite middle schools: children of middle-class intellectuals and high-level cadres. As the scholars of this period concluded, "China was falling short of the goal of inverting the old class order and was in danger of adding a new elite class on top of the old."[20]

POLICY CHANGES AND THE STRUGGLE OVER EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

Schools in the years preceding the Cultural Revolution were best characterized by the increasing importance of politics over academic achievement. As chronicled by earlier studies,[21] national policy regarding recruitment criteria shifted from almost exclusive emphasis on academic competence—measured by exam scores and grades—in the early 1960s to greater weight placed on political trustworthiness—class origin and political performance (*zhengzhi biaoxian*)—after 1964.[22] Coupled with rapidly shrinking

opportunities for educational advancement and urban employment, this heightened emphasis on politics over academic achievement intensified student anxiety and widened the gulf between middle-class children and cadre children in middle schools.

Educational reform was the first issue around which middle-school students were mobilized into action in June 1966.[23] Immediately after the Cultural Revolution was started, the children of high-level and revolutionary cadres pushed for the abolition of senior high school and university entrance examinations, and their replacement by admissions criteria heavily weighted toward class background.[24] Almost overnight, their demands became an official national policy. On June 13, 1966, the Central Committee and the State Council announced that the new recruitment for higher educational institutions be suspended to allow a "thorough reform of the bourgeois examination system." This was followed by yet anther notification, on July 24, which demanded that entrance examinations be abolished and replaced by a new method of enrollment based on a "combination of recommendation and selection." The abolition of entrance examination and the introduction of a "recommendation only" method shattered middle-class students' hope for college education.

At the same time, however, middle-class students were about to be empowered by Mao and his radical followers to form their own "Rebel" Red Guard organizations. Despite this "liberating" posture, the radical leaders never advocated educational policies more favorable to middle-class students. They were interested more in using the Rebels as a force to attack their political enemies and the status quo than in making concessions to their temporary allies.

For their part, groups of middle-class students did not act like a self-interested social movement organization. For one thing, while disheartened, middle-class students were in

no position to protest overtly against the official policy laid down by Mao. After all, middle-class students—who later organized themselves into rebel Red Guard organizations—also claimed that they, not the "Loyalists," were the true followers of Mao. The irony here is that the "Rebels"—made up largely of middle-class students—appeared, at least outwardly, even less concerned about educational reform than the Loyalists.[25] They regarded education as a parochial issue that should be subordinated to broader social issues such as the configuration of power in Chinese society. At best, therefore, their attacks were focused on the privileges of power holders within the Party, *and* those of their children.[26] While the arguments implied the privileged access of cadre children to higher education, the middle-class Rebels stopped short of attacking the official policy itself.

Moreover, in 1968, when the high tide of Cultural Revolution activism came to an end, Maoist radicals once again threw their support behind stronger class-line policies that favored cadre and working-class children. With the "major contradiction" solved (i.e., the power struggle against "capitalist roaders" within the Party ended in victory), the new "major contradiction" concerned the persistent influences of "bourgeois" practices and personnel. Policies were to be geared towards weakening the status of the middle-class professionals. It now appears that middle-class children were the Cultural Revolution's losers in two senses. They lost not only in the factional battle, but also in the battle over educational opportunities.

EDUCATIONAL POLICIES OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION

When the Cultural Revolution started in the spring of 1966, classes at every level of schools, from primary schools to colleges, were suspended to undertake revisions in enrollment procedures, teaching methods, and curricula.[27] Primary and secondary schools

resumed one after another between 1967 and 1969, while colleges and universities remained closed until 1970-72. Major policy changes that took place in these years remained largely in place until 1976. They can be summarized in three points: the shifting downwards of resources, the abolition of the admission system based on academic achievement, and the decentralization of decision-making.

One of the most important goals of the educational reform was to make primary education available for every school-age child. Given resource constraint, however, the policy makers had to devise radical measures to meet this goal. Above all, they were ready to sacrifice the quality and specialized nature of education in order to expand opportunities at the bottom of the educational hierarchy. College enrollments were drastically cut, while the elitist key-point school system was abolished. In addition, they reduced the number of years in school at each level of education. Typically in cities,[28] the number of years in primary schools was reduced from 6 to 5; junior and senior high schools from 3 to 2 each; and colleges and universities from 4-5 years to 1-3 years. Secondary school enrollment also increased. This was apparently made possible by combining levels of schooling, and by reducing the total number of years in school: for example, primary and junior high schools were combined into a 7 (5 plus 2) year program, instead of 9.

The second feature of the radical educational experiment was almost total disregard for academic achievement as a criterion of educational selection. Unified entrance examinations not only for colleges and universities but also for junior and senior high schools were abolished. Admissions were to be based on "recommendation only," with priority given to children of good-class backgrounds. All students had to work at least two years either in the field or in factories before becoming eligible for college entry. Work units—factories, production brigades, etc.—would select youths who distinguished

themselves in their work among their own peers of workers, peasants (including the sent-down youths), and soldiers. After recommendations from work units, levels of local authority had to approve the candidates. Many suspected that this was where cadres' influence came in. They believed that party officials used their networks and connections—political capital—to promote their own children.

These generalizations should be qualified with the third feature of the radical reform: decentralization. Within the broad guidelines, important decisions were left in the hands of local authorities. The length (in years) of schooling, for example, differed locally, depending on available resources and the priority they placed on universal primary education versus the expansion of junior high school enrollment, and similar issues. At higher educational levels, not only the number of years in school but also the content of curricula (e.g., the time devoted to manual labor[29] versus academic work) varied among schools, and even among departments.[30] Moreover, decentralized decision making made the generalization of enrollment patterns especially difficult. While information from individual universities suggests that "peasants" and "workers," as well as cadre children, were overly represented in the classes,[31] systematic data have not been available to this date. The question of who, and with what social background, managed to advance educationally in the midst of the radical changes has remained largely unanswered.

EDUCATIONAL EXPANSION AND STRATIFICATION

What changes actually occurred in access to education during the Cultural Revolution? Before asking more specific questions about the relationship between social background and educational transitions, however, we need to know some basic facts. Did enrollment expand or contract during the Cultural Revolution? At what levels of schooling

did it expand or contract, and to what extent? In this section, I describe some of the basic quantitative changes caused by the Cultural Revolution.

This study takes advantage of a large "life history" survey made available by an international team of American and Chinese scholars and students.[32] I use the urban half of the sample, which consists of 3,087 cases.[33] The data describe respondents' educational and work histories as well as similar information for their parents and spouse. I use the information on social, educational, and political backgrounds of respondents and parents, as well as family class backgrounds.

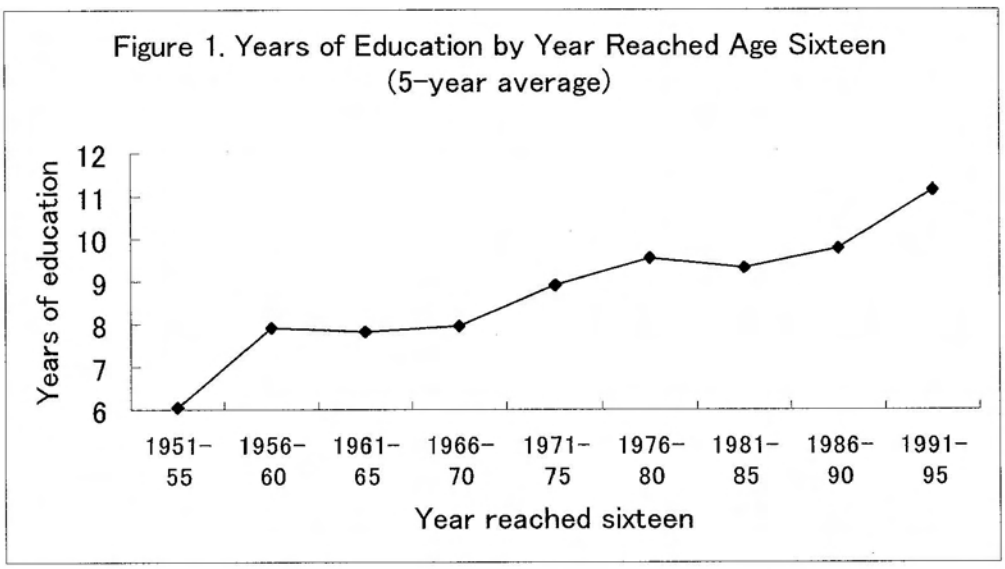


Figure 1 reports the trend in years of schooling for urban Chinese between 1951 and 1995.[34] First of all, it makes clear that the first 45 years of the People's Republic were marked by a great educational expansion. The average number of years in school increased more than 5 years (from 6 to 11.1 years) over the period. This means that while an average urban child could expect to finish primary school in the early 1950s, she/he could

anticipate some form of higher secondary education 40 years later. A closer look, however, reveals periods of expansion and consolidation. The increase was most dramatic in the first decade of the People's Republic, during which the average number of years in school for urban residents increased by almost 2 years (from 6 to 7.9 years).

A decade of expansion, marked by industrial development and the Great Leap Forward (GLF), was followed by a decade of consolidation. It actually started in the early 1960s[35] when the nation underwent a period of economic consolidation in the wake of the GLF, and continued through the latter half of the decade marked by the more virulent phase of the Cultural Revolution. In the second decade of the People's Republic, the average number of years in school stagnated at around 8 years. It started to climb again in the later Cultural Revolution period after 1971, reaching nearly 9 years, equivalent to the completion of junior high school. The Cultural Revolution was therefore characterized by the stagnation of the earlier years, probably caused by the suspension of schools and confusion on campuses, and then expansion of the later, when the new educational policy took effect. In the latter half of the 1970s, marked by the fall of the "gang of four" and the rise of Deng Xiaoping, the average years of education reached 9.6 years. The decade of expansion was followed by yet another period of consolidation in the 1980s, which in turn was taken over by an impressive increase in the early 1990s.

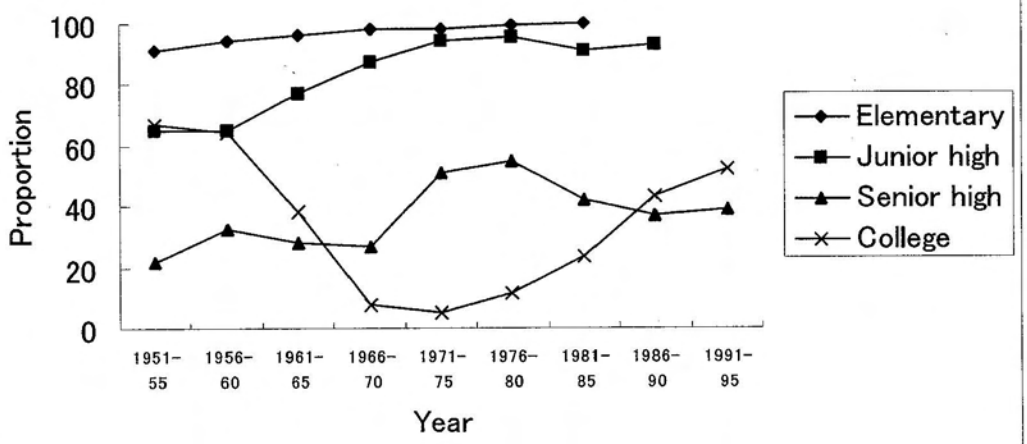
The above trend only indicates changes in the average number of years in school, and does not tell whether educational opportunities at specific levels of education expanded or contracted. Following Blossfeld and Shavit, this study defines "educational opportunity" as the chance to attain a specific educational level, rather than its actual attainment.[36] In other words, it is the chance (relative to others) to achieve a specific level of education that matters, and not average aggregate years in school. It is a relative, not an absolute, concept

in two senses. First, educational expansion does not imply an increase at every level. On the contrary, expansion at a level of education may be related to contraction at another level. For example, the expansion of primary and junior high school enrollments would produce a bottleneck of aspiring students, if it were not accompanied by a proportional increase at the senior high school level. More importantly, educational expansion does not suggest an increase for everyone. As a consequence of educational expansion, a society can increase the average level of educational attainment over years, without changing the educational opportunities of children from different social strata. As Blossfeld and Shavit suggest, educational expansion may even mask the true nature of social stratification. As the pie becomes larger, the social conflict will be less likely to surface over the relative size of the slices.

Accordingly, this study looks at the chance of making the "transition" into levels of education for people from different social backgrounds. A "transition" means that one advances from one level of education to another.[37] In other words, it assumes that a student has to complete a previous educational level in order to make the transition into the next level.

Figure 2 displays the proportions of those, among graduates of the previous levels, who entered the four educational levels at various times. Entry into primary and junior high schools shows a pattern of steady expansion of educational opportunities, confirming the government's effort to extend those levels of education to all school-age children. The proportion of urban children entering primary school reached a near-universal level (98 percent) by the early Cultural Revolution period (1966-70). An even more impressive gain was made at junior high school level. The proportion of those entering junior high school began to increase in the early 1960s, and continued to expand during the Cultural

Figure 2. Rates of Entry into Four Educational Levels: 1951–1995 (5-year average)



Revolution. In the 1970s, about 95 percent of elementary school graduates continued their study at junior high school level. The proportion, however, dropped by a few percent in the 1980s, as economic reform was started. As far as the proportions of urban children enrolled at these lower levels of schooling are concerned, therefore, the Cultural Revolution represented a gain, not a loss, at least in quantitative terms.

The trend at the higher levels of education shows a very different picture. First of all, there was a considerable gap in the transition rate between the higher and lower levels virtually throughout the half-century history of the People's Republic. Simply put, enrollment at senior high school and college levels did not keep pace with that at the lower levels. Entry into senior high school started at a very low point. In the early 1950s, only 22 percent of junior high school graduates made the transition to regular senior high school.[38] The rate improved by 11 percent in the later 1950s, but stagnated in the following decade, a period of economic consolidation followed by the more violent phase of the Cultural Revolution. However, it surged in the later Cultural Revolution period, nearly doubling the

figure in the previous period (26 to 51 percent). This confirms an earlier report that during the Cultural Revolution an attempt was made to expand senior high school enrollment among urban youths.[39] The proportion entering senior high school reached the highest point (54 percent) in the latter half of 1970s, only to decline again in the 1980s as some of the inadequate schools built during the Cultural Revolution were consolidated.[40]

The proportion entering college started at a relatively high point. More than 65 percent of senior high school graduates entered college in the early 1950s. The opportunity was still plenty for the small group of students who graduated from senior high school in the late 1950s. The prospect for those students suddenly became cloudy in the early 1960s as the nation's economy underwent a consolidation in the wake of the Great Leap Forward. In the first half of the 1960s, the proportion entering college dropped by 26 percent, to 38 percent, confirming the earlier observation that senior high school students faced a declining prospect for educational advancement as the Cultural Revolution approached.[41] During the Cultural Revolution, entry into college hit its nadir. Less than 10 percent of high school graduates found an opening in college. This change indeed made a huge difference in the life of high school students: in the 1950s a majority of them felt assured of going to college, in the early 1960s they were reduced to a little more than one third, and during the Cultural Revolution only a small fraction could actually end up in a college classroom. The prospect improved a little in the late 1970s as the national entrance examination was resumed. It was, however, not until the late 1980s that the transition rate returned to the pre-Cultural Revolution level. In sum, the Cultural Revolution increased the proportions entering the successive educational levels at primary and secondary levels, while reducing it greatly at the college level.

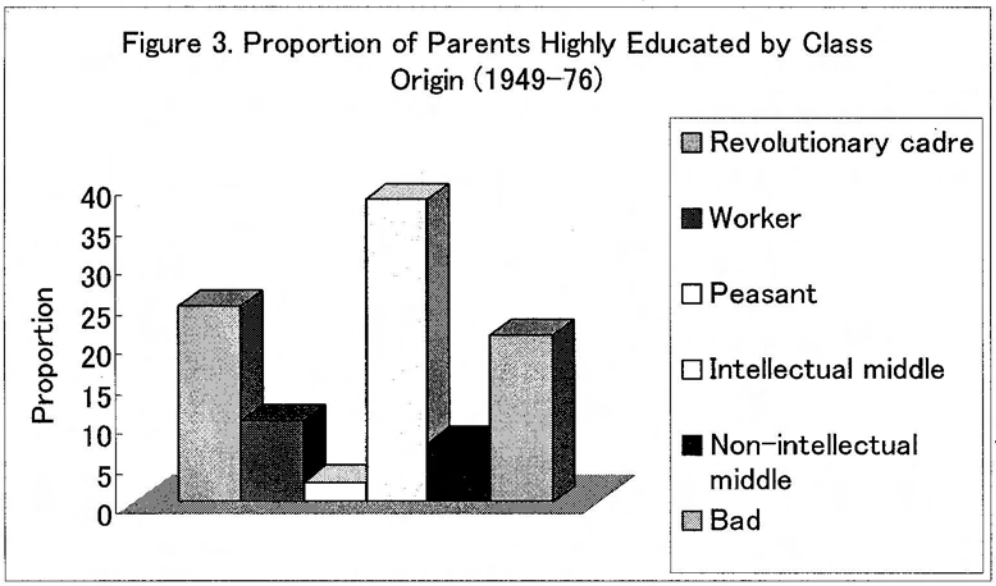
CLASS ORIGIN AND FORMS OF CAPITAL

Before I move on to the analysis of the effects of social background on educational transition, some clarification of relevant concepts is in order. Previous studies on student behavior under Mao's regime often assumed that class origin was one of the most, if not the most, important cleavage dividing students.[42] This is hardly surprising because after all the regime not only advocated the "class line" as one of its guiding principles, but also officially employed class origin as one of the three criteria—along with academic competence and political performance—used in educational selection. Moreover, the issue of class origin became increasingly predominant in the years leading to the Cultural Revolution.

Granted, there are some inevitable ambiguities about the politically designated "class." For one thing, designated class origin began to diverge from actual occupation and status as the society underwent sweeping institutional changes initiated by the socialist transformation and collectivization.[43] As early as the late 1950s, many leaders, including Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping, began to downplay the significance of the class designations based on pre-1949 backgrounds. More importantly for this study, however, it is not entirely clear whether class origin more or less predicts levels of cultural and political capital, an assumption on which most of the previous studies were based. That is, children of "middle-class" (or more precisely, "intelligentsia-middle-class") origins were endowed with the greatest amount of cultural capital, while those of "revolutionary-cadre" origins had much less cultural capital.[44] Conversely, revolutionary-cadre children possessed the largest amount of political capital, while middle-class children had much less.

Figure 3 shows how cultural capital was distributed among children with different class designations in the Mao era (1949-76).[45] Cultural capital is indicated by at least one

Figure 3. Proportion of Parents Highly Educated by Class Origin (1949–76)



parent having high school education or above. Children of intellectual middle-class origins were indeed blessed with the largest amount of cultural capital. They were much more likely to grow up in a highly educated family environment than children of other origins: 38 percent of them had at least one parent with at least a senior high school education. While seemingly unimpressive by today's standards, only 7 percent of all urban households had parents with this much education. Somewhat unexpectedly, children of revolutionary-cadre origins had the second highest level of cultural capital of all the groups. They were in fact more likely to have highly educated parents than those of "bad-class" origins. Of revolutionary-cadre children, 25 percent had highly educated parents, while 21 percent of "bad-class" children had such parents. Contrary to previous thinking, children of revolutionary-cadre origins had *more*, not less, cultural capital than those of "exploiting class" origins. Besides these groups, the other three types of children had much less cultural capital. Ten percent of children of workers had highly educated parents, while 7

percent of those of non-intellectual middle class and only 3 percent of poor and lower-middle peasants had such parents. Children of revolutionary cadres were by no means as lacking in cultural capital as previous studies have suggested. Along with children of intellectual middle class, they were blessed with more cultural capital than any other group of children.

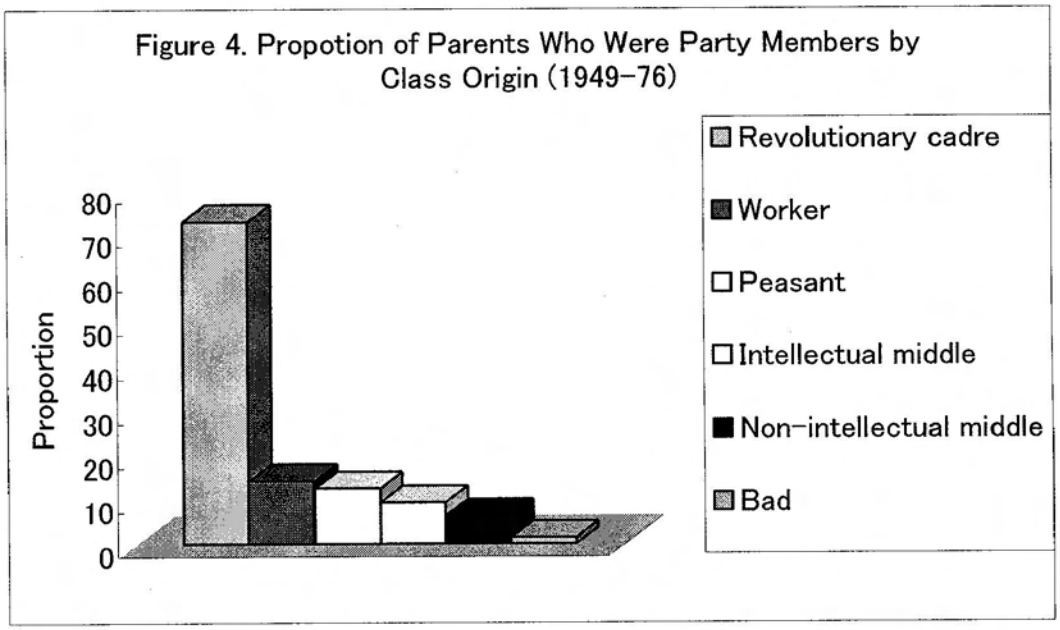


Figure 4 displays the amount of political capital for children from different households in the Mao era. The parents' party membership when children were 14 years old is used as a measure of political capital.[46] As expected, children of revolutionary cadres had a very high proportion (73 percent) of parents who were party members. They stood out from the other groups (who averaged 11 percent) in their possession of political capital. They were followed by children of working-class (workers and poor and lower-middle peasants) origins. Middle-class (both intellectual and non-intellectual) children were still less likely to have parents who were party members. As expected, only

a fraction (1 percent) of bad-class parents had party membership. In short, as pointed out in many previous studies, children of revolutionary-cadre origins had a disproportionately high level of political capital.

These findings imply that designated class origins are not perfect indicators for an analysis of educational stratification. A substantial portion of revolutionary-cadre children grew up in a highly educated environment, and therefore could enter senior high school or even college on their own, without relying on their political capital. Accordingly, this study employs more direct measures of stratification—cultural and political capital—to show a more realistic picture of the educational changes that took place during the Cultural Revolution. In this study, cultural capital is indicated by parents' senior high school education or above,[47] and political capital is measured by parent's high cadre (department, *chu*, or higher ranks) status and revolutionary-cadre origins.[48] Since the statistical method enables us to gauge the effect of any factor after controlling for the others, we will find, for example, a "pure" effect of cultural capital independent of other effects, including political capital. The focus of this study is therefore not children's class designations themselves, but their actual cultural and political backgrounds.

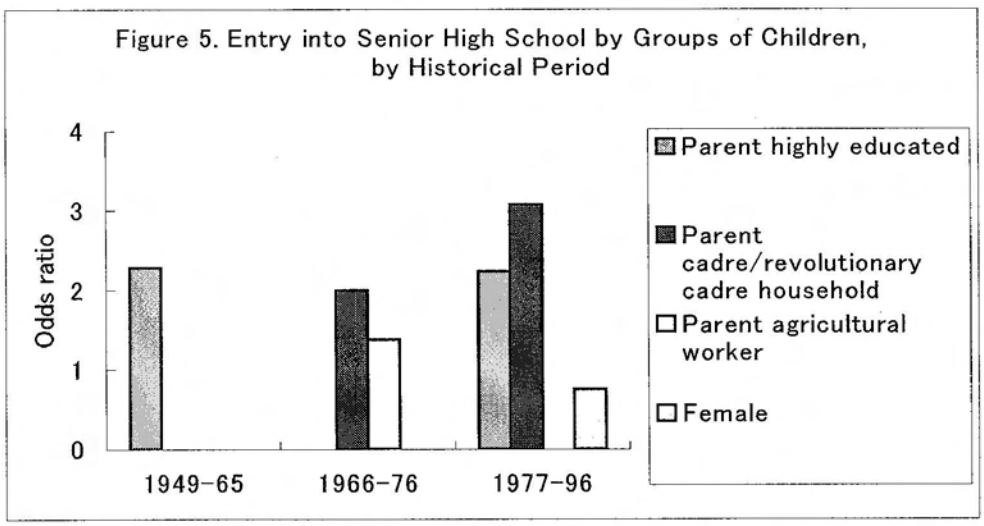
WHO GAINED EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES DURING THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION?

This study compares changes in the probability of entering certain levels of schooling for urban youths from different backgrounds. In doing so, I employ a statistical method most commonly used in the analysis of background effects on educational attainment.[49] This study focuses on "elite transitions"—entry into levels of education most likely to lead to elite status: academic senior high school, key-point middle school, and college.[50]

Entry into Senior High School

Figure 5 shows how the odds of entering senior high school for children from different social backgrounds changed over time.[51] As shown in figure 2, the proportion entering senior high school remained relatively low throughout the pre-Cultural Revolution period (1949-65). In the sample, only about 30 percent of junior high school graduates (90 out of 314) advanced to senior high school, suggesting that education at this level was still relatively rare. In this educational setting, children with more cultural capital had large advantages. The odds of entering senior high school were 2.3 higher for children of highly educated parents than for other children. This suggests that the advantage of growing up in a "bourgeois intellectual family" remained strong in the first 15 years of socialist China. Interestingly, the advantage associated with political capital had yet to emerge as a significant pattern in this period. There are two possible reasons for this. First, in the pre-Cultural Revolution period, family class origin was less strictly enforced as

Figure 5. Entry into Senior High School by Groups of Children, by Historical Period



Note: Odds ratios are from logistic regression models of the probability of entering senior high school by the four variables shown and age (control variable). All the results shown are statistically significant.

a selection criterion than in the Cultural Revolution period. Secondly, it may also imply that the political elite was still in a formative stage. While some of high-level "old cadres" had educational credentials, as well as political ones, others ("former peasants") lacked them altogether and were still unable to assist their offspring to advance educationally.

The Cultural Revolution changed this conventional pattern. The advantage associated with educated families disappeared, while others emerged in a more politically charged atmosphere. While it is tempting to attribute the decline in cultural capital to the expanded enrollment, which increased by 13 percent to 42 percent (267/637), an even higher proportion entering senior high school (45 percent, 430/957) in the post-Cultural Revolution period precludes this possibility. Opportunities for children of highly educated parents were reduced by political intervention. The privileged position formerly enjoyed by "intellectual children" was now taken over by "cadre children." The odds of entering senior high school were now twice as high for children of high-level cadres. The abolition of entrance examinations and the introduction of the "recommendation only" method helped children with political capital most, while punishing children with highly educated backgrounds. An interesting sidenote is that children of peasants advanced to senior high school at a higher rate than others, implying a boost given to working-class children by the radical policy.

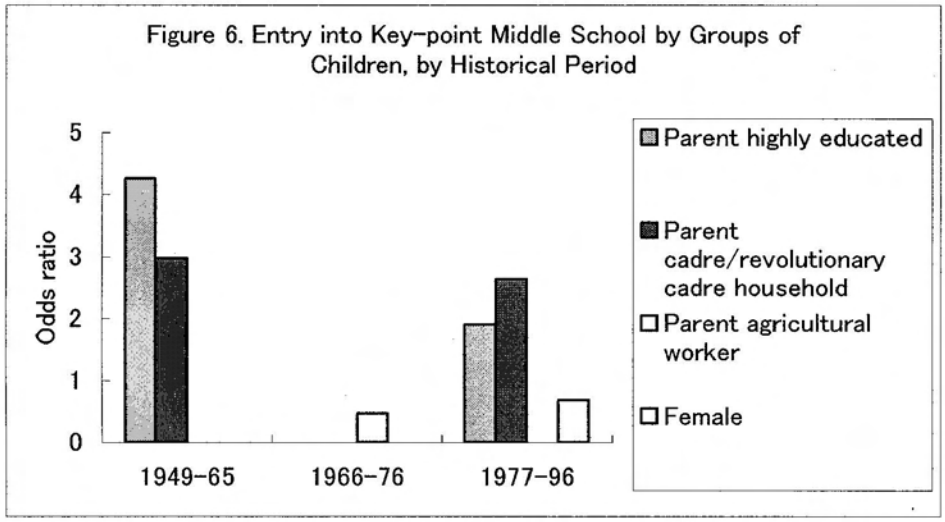
After the Cultural Revolution, forms of educational stratification reemerged. The advantage enjoyed by children of highly educated parents returned to the pre-Cultural Revolution level. Children of high cadres not only retained the advantage they acquired during the Cultural Revolution, but also added to it. The odds for them to advance to senior high school were 3 times greater than for others. A gender gap also emerged in this period as a significant factor of educational stratification. This is consistent with a previous

finding, based on data up to 1985, that economic reform "slowed" the trend toward equality for women.[52]

Entry into Key-point Middle School

During the Cultural Revolution, the "elitist" key-point school system came under attack from the radical policy makers, and consequently was abolished. They were converted into ordinary "neighborhood schools." Students were to attend whichever schools closest to their homes. However, people's perceptions did not seem to conform totally to the official policy. They continued to regard former key-point schools as better than other schools.[53] This was so because they maintained better facilities and at least some of the old teaching staff. In our sample, 12 percent (109/903) of those eligible for entry into secondary school said that they went to key-point schools during the Cultural Revolution. This was in fact higher than the previous period (9 percent, 59/627).

Figure 6 shows dramatic changes in entry into key-point middle schools over time. Before the Cultural Revolution, both children of highly educated parents and those of high-level cadres had large advantages in entering those schools. The odds of entering key-point schools for "intellectual children" were more than 4 times higher than those for others—double the impact of cultural capital on the entry into regular senior high school. This suggests that cultural capital gave a much greater advantage in getting into the most competitive secondary schools. Unlike entry into ordinary senior high school, children of high-level cadres were also admitted into key-point middle schools at a much higher rate—they enjoyed a three-fold advantage over others. Key-point schools therefore admitted children with both cultural and political capital at much higher rates.[54] In sum, as found by earlier studies,[55] in the years preceding the Cultural Revolution, key-point middle



Note: Odds ratios are from logistic regression models of the probability of entering key-point middle school by the four variables shown and age (control variable). All the results shown are statistically significant.

schools overly represented two groups of children: children of highly educated parents and those of high–level cadres.

These effects disappeared during the Cultural Revolution. Neither children of highly educated parents nor those of high-level cadres were admitted at a rate any higher than others. Meanwhile, children of peasants entered key-point middle schools at a lower rate than others. Often located in city centers rather than in the suburbs, key-point schools may have been geographically inaccessible for peasant children who were more likely to reside on the outskirts. All in all, these changes suggest that the Cultural Revolution in fact turned key-point middle schools into ordinary "neighborhood schools."

The end of the Cultural Revolution brought back the earlier patterns of educational stratification. Both children of highly educated parents and of high-level cadres recovered their advantage over other groups of children. The only notable difference is that the effect

of cultural capital was somewhat subdued in the post-Cultural Revolution period. Similarly to senior high school entry, gender became a significant factor only in the economic reform era. Female students were now 30 percent less likely to enter prestigious middle schools than male students.

In sum, as far as eliminating the "elitist" key-point system is concerned, the Cultural Revolution was an unmistakable success. The radical leaders succeeded in muting not one but two major forces of stratification—cultural and political capital—by turning key-point schools into ordinary "neighborhood schools." This implies that the hierarchical nature of China's secondary school system was also weakened considerably during the Cultural Revolution. The U-shape pattern, however, suggests that the forces of stratification are resilient and difficult to be done away with. Any temporary measure, however ambitious, would at best produce a temporary "success."

Entry into College

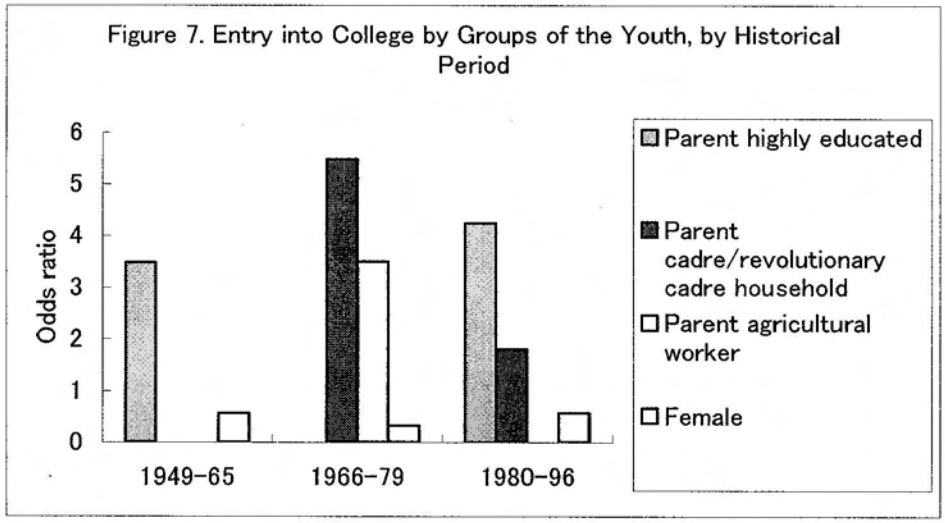
The foremost feature of college entry during the Cultural Revolution was the small number of people who actually attended college. In our sample, there are only 18 people who entered college between 1966 and 1976. This constituted only 10 percent of those who graduated from senior high school in the period (see also Figure 2). This is not surprising because in the first half of the decade most universities and colleges remained closed to new applicants. Even after reopening, they only accepted a limited number of students among "laboring youths" who had spent two or more years in rural villages or in urban factories.

When the Cultural Revolution ended, the new leadership offered some accommodation to those who had lost their chance to go to college because of the Cultural

Revolution.[56] At the end of 1977, the entrance examinations were held for the first time in a decade. For the first two exams following the resumption, held in December 1977 and July 1978, the maximum age limit was raised to 30 to allow those from the "lost generation" of the Cultural Revolution decade to take the exams. In 1979, this limit was lowered to 28 years old. In order to accommodate these special circumstances, I include those three years, 1977, 1978, and 1979, in the Cultural Revolution period only in the model for college entry. This gives 37 people who made the transition to college for the period between 1966 and 1979.[57]

Figure 7 reveals some interesting changes in college enrollment over the half-century history of the People's Republic. In the pre-Cultural Revolution period, children from a highly educated background enjoyed a comfortable advantage over other groups of children. Their odds of entering college were 3.5 times higher than others. On the other hand, children of high-level cadres had no advantage, controlling for the effect

Figure 7. Entry into College by Groups of the Youth, by Historical Period



Note: Odds ratios are from logistic regression models of the probability of entering college by the four variables shown and age (control variable). All the results shown are statistically significant.

of the highly educated family environment. As seen above, both cultural and political capital had positive effects on entry into key-point middle schools. But only the former provided an advantage at the college level. This suggests that students with only political capital lagged behind those with cultural capital in their competition for college education. This is consistent with an earlier observation that prior to the Cultural Revolution, selection criteria that attached importance to academic achievement benefited children of "middle-class" intellectuals more than those of cadres.[58]

The Cultural Revolution brought an abrupt end to this pattern. Suddenly, offspring of highly educated parents lost their advantage, while those of high-level "old-cadres" gained enormously. The odds of entering college for children of cadres were now 5.5 times higher than for others. This may be attributable to either the recommendation method that gave preference to children of revolutionary-cadre origins, or the alleged practice of "going through the backdoor," as some have suggested.[59] In any case, children of high-level cadres gained entry into these smallest college classes at a disproportionately high rate.

A closer look reveals that most of those few intellectual children who managed to enter college did so in the three-year interim period (1977-79) after the entrance exams were resumed.[60] This suggests that some of those denied their opportunities to go to college during the Cultural Revolution made up the loss once the political tide changed. However, this only reinforces the finding that the Cultural Revolution decade (1966-76) deprived intellectual children of opportunities for college education.

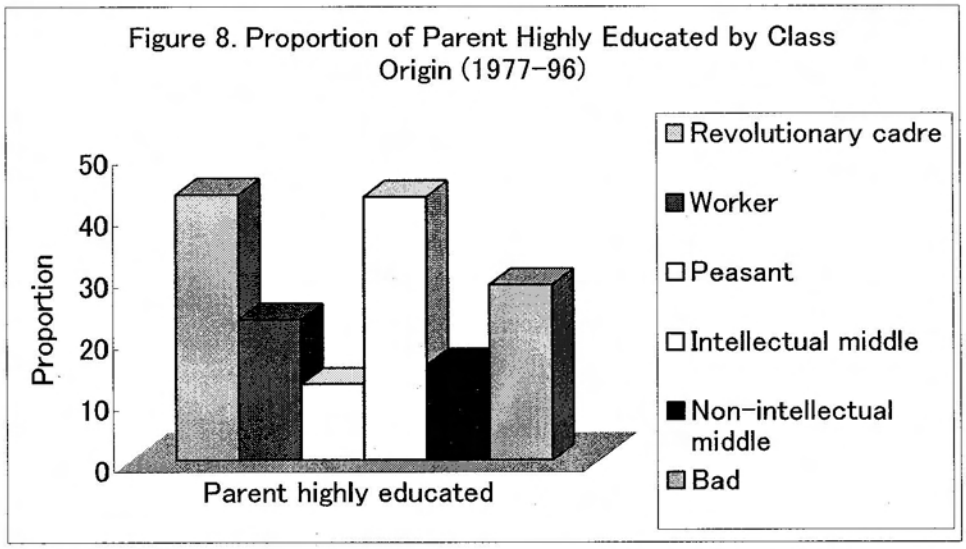
Another interesting finding is that children of peasants advanced to college at a higher rate than other children. This lends some support[61] to a previous claim that during the

Cultural Revolution a majority of college students were recruited from peasant households, and contradicts the view that many of the so-called peasants were actually sent-down youths,[62] rather than local peasants themselves.[63]

After the Cultural Revolution, intellectual children returned to a dominant position. The odds of advancing to college for them were now more than 4 times greater than for others. Like key-point middle and senior high school levels, we can trace a clear U-shape pattern of the effect at the college level. These findings point to two things: the persistence of cultural capital and an unmistakable, if temporary, "success" of the Cultural Revolution in curtailing the effect of cultural capital.

While much muted, the advantage enjoyed by children of high-level cadres continued into the post-Cultural Revolution era.[64] This is also consistent with the pattern found in the entry into the other levels. Taken together, these findings suggest that the offspring of high-level "old cadres" had consolidated themselves into an elite stratum. As Figure 8 shows, in the post-Mao era, children of revolutionary-cadre origins accumulated the

Figure 8. Proportion of Parent Highly Educated by Class Origin (1977–96)



same level of cultural capital as those of intellectual middle-class origins. This group of children therefore grew into an elite class possessing not only political but also cultural capital.

Finally, female children were disadvantaged in college entry throughout the period under study. The Cultural Revolution made their lot even worse. The odds of entering college for female students were two thirds lower than for male students during the Cultural Revolution, while they were about half lower during the other periods. The rate improved somewhat in the reform era. Taken together with the results from key-point middle and senior high school entries, where female children were disadvantaged for the first time in the reform era, female youths continued to face considerable obstacles in their pursuit of education advancement.

CONCLUSION

The Cultural Revolution in the educational arena was an attempt to increase the opportunities of working-class children by reducing the advantages of high-status children. It entailed conflict over who would advance at whose expense. Above all, the conflict centered around two groups of children who dominated the classrooms of high-status middle schools prior to the Cultural Revolution. Blessed with a high level of favorable family environment, or cultural capital, children of "bourgeois intellectuals" continued to crowd not only into those schools but also into senior high schools and colleges. Children of high-level "old cadres" also gained access to prestigious key-point middle schools, presumably with the help of their well-connected parents—political capital—as well as impeccable class backgrounds.

The Cultural Revolution was often characterized as an attack against two kinds of

privileged groups: "bourgeois intellectuals" and conservative party officials. Mao himself saw the dual nature of threats to the revolutionary order, and therefore made an attack against "capitalist roaders within the Party" a priority at least in the initial stage of the Cultural Revolution. Moreover, he empowered intellectual children by allowing them to form their own Red Guard organizations. There is, however, no evidence that Mao and his radical followers advocated any educational policy favorable for children of "bourgeois intellectuals." Nor did they try to curtail the advantages enjoyed by their opponents—children of high-level cadres. In short, as far as the revolution in education was concerned, the Cultural Revolution was an attack against a single target: children of "bourgeois intellectuals."

This study looked at the effects of cultural and political capital on entry into regular senior high school, key-point middle school, and college. There were considerable variations across the transitions. Overall, the proportion of those entering senior high school increased substantially in the later Cultural Revolution period. The advantage enjoyed by children from highly educated families was taken over by those from old-cadre households. As for entry into key-point middle school, high-status schools were in fact transformed into ordinary "neighborhood schools." Neither intellectual children nor cadre children were over-represented in the classrooms during the Cultural Revolution. Enrollment at college was drastically reduced during the Cultural Revolution, and the sons (rather than the daughters) of high-level cadres took the few openings in college classes.

All in all, these findings suggest two conclusions. First, the Cultural Revolution stripped away the advantage of having highly educated parents. This group lost their advantage at all three levels of schooling I have examined. The Cultural Revolution achieved this by two means: by abolishing academic achievement as a selection criterion,

and by eliminating the elitist nature of educational institutions—key-point middle school and college—altogether. The quickness with which they regained their advantage after the radical decade points to two sides of the same coin: the persistence of cultural capital and the intensity of the Cultural Revolution's attack against it.

During the Cultural Revolution, the void left by children of highly educated parents was filled by those of high-level "old cadres." Cadre children enjoyed a comfortable advantage at both senior high school and college. These findings clearly support a previous observation that cadre children benefited from the radical educational policy. It is hard to tell from the data of this study, however, how much of their advantage derived from alleged practices of "going through the backdoor," or the selection criteria that emphasized class origin. One thing this study does show is that (except for key-point middle schools) the advantage enjoyed by this group of children emerged as a significant factor of educational stratification for the first time during the Cultural Revolution, and was carried on into the post-Mao era. This suggests that whatever the forces that brought cadre children to the privileged position, the Cultural Revolution may be seen as the beginning of a process through which the political elite was transformed into the new class of political and cultural elite.

[1] Anita Chan, Stanley Rosen, and Jonathan Unger, "Students and Class Warfare: The Roots of the Red Guard Conflict in Guangzhou," *China Quarterly* 83 (1980): 397-446; Stanley Rosen, *Red Guard Factionalism and the Cultural Revolution in Guangzhou (Canton)* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1982); Jonathan Unger, *Education under Mao: Class and Competition in Canton Schools, 1960-1980* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982).

[2] Zhong Deng and Donald J. Treiman, "The Impact of the Cultural Revolution on Trends in Educational Attainment in the People's Republic of China," *American Journal of Sociology* 103 (1997): 391-428; Xueguang Zhou, Phyllis Moen, and Nancy Brandon Tuma, "Educational Stratification in Urban China: 1949-94," *Sociology of Education* 71 (1998): 199-222; Xueguang Zhou and Liren Hou, "Children of the Cultural Revolution: The State and the Life Course in the People's Republic of China," *American Sociological Review* 64 (1999): 12-36.

[3] William L.Parish, "Destratification in China," in *Class and Social Stratification in Post-revolutionary China*, ed. by James Watson (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 84-120.

[4] The other paramount objective was national modernization/industrial development. Past studies often pointed out that the relative weight laid on these two national objectives—equalization and development—was at root of the division between "radicals" and "moderates."

[5] Suzanne Pepper, "Education and Revolution: The 'Chinese Model' Revised," *Asian Survey* 18 (1978): 847-890.

[6] See articles included in Yossi Shavit and Hans-Peter Blossfeld, eds., *Persistent Inequality: Changing Educational Attainment in Thirteen Countries* (Boulder CO:

Westview Press, 1993).

[7] For this reason, this has rarely been done on a large scale. Those few other cases include India (as a remedy for the caste system), South Africa (apartheid), and the United States (affirmative action for racial minorities).

[8] Pierre Bourdieu, "Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction," in *Power and Ideology in Education*, ed. by J. Karabel and A. H. Halsey (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp. 487-511; Pierre Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital," in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. by J. C. Richardson (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), pp. 241-58.

[9] They constituted a major proportion of people with so-called "bad-class" origins. Other such infamous labels include "bad elements" ("criminal" offenders), counter-revolutionaries, and "Rightists." "Rightists" were added to the list during the Anti-Rightist Campaign of 1957.

[10] Martin King Whyte, "Inequality and Stratification in China," *China Quarterly* 64 (1975): 684-711; Martin King Whyte and William L. Parish, *Urban Life in Contemporary China* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1984).

[11] "Intelligentsia middle class" refers to families of pre-Liberation clerks, teachers, professionals, etc.

[12] C. Montgomery Broaded and Chongshun Liu, "Family Background, Gender, and Educational Attainment in Uraban China," *China Quarterly* 145 (1996): 53-86.

[13] For an interesting empirical study, based on American society, of a mechanism by which parents transmit social advantages to children, see Annette Lareau, "Invisible Inequality: Social Class and Childrearing in Black Families and White Families" *American*

Sociological Review 67 (2002): 747-776. Similar patterns of persistent familial influence on children's educational attainment were also found in the former East European socialist societies of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland. See Peter Mateju, "Who Won and Who Lost in a Socialist Redistribution in Czechoslovakia," in *Persistent Inequality*, ed. by Shavit and Blossfeld, pp. 251-71; Szonja Szelényi and Karen Aschaffenburg, "Inequalities in Educational Opportunities in Hungary," in *Persistent Inequality*, ed. by Shavit and Blossfeld, pp. 273-302; Barbara Heyns and Ireneusz Biatecki, "Educational Inequalities in Postwar Poland," in *Persistent Inequality*, ed. by Shavit and Blossfeld, pp. 303-35.

[14] Chan, Rosen, and Unger, "Students and Class Warfare"; Susan L. Shirk, *Competitive Comrades: Career Incentives and Student Strategies in China* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1982); Unger, *Education under Mao*; Joel Andreas, "Battling Over Political and Cultural Power during the Chinese Cultural Revolution," *Theory and Society* 31 (2002): 463-519.

[15] Leon Trotsky, *The Revolution Betrayed: What Is the Soviet Union and Where Is It Going?* (New York: Pathfinder, [1937] 1972); Milovan Djilas, *The New Class: An Analysis of the Communist System of Power* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1957); Iván Szelényi, "Social Inequalities under State Socialist Redistributive Economies," *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 19, 1-2 (1978): 63-87.

[16] George Konrád and Iván Szelényi, *The Intellectuals on the Road to Class Power* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1979).

[17] Another more subtle way by which party membership can increase access to education is through political credentials (see Andrew Walder, "Career Mobility and the Communist Political Order," *American Sociological Review* 60 (1995): 309-28). It can apply not only

to young party members themselves but also, while probably to a lesser extent, to children of party members. "Political capital" in this sense resembles a good-class origin in that it implies the trustworthiness of children from those households.

[18] Franz Schurmann, *Ideology and Organization in Communist China* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968); A. Doak Barnett, with Ezra Vogel, *Cadres, Bureaucracy, and Political Power in Communist China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967); Andrew G. Walder, *Communist Neo-Traditionalism: Work and Authority in Chinese Industry* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986); Jean C. Oi, *State and Peasant in Contemporary China: the Political Economy of Village Government* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989).

[19] This is not to suggest that China under the Communist rule did not succeed in reducing educational inequality *in comparison with* the pre-1949 society, or with other societies. Tang and Parish, for example, found that in the initial fifteen years of socialist rule, parental influence was cut almost in half compared to the pre-socialist era. See chapter 3 in Wenfang Tang and William L. Parish, *Chinese Urban Life under Reform: The Changing Social Contract* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000). Another study concluded, "the dependence of educational attainment on social origins appears to be substantially weaker in China than in other countries." Deng and Treiman, "The Impact of the Cultural Revolution."

[20] Whyte and Parish, *Urban Life in Contemporary China*, p. 46.

[21] Rosen, *Red Guard Factionalism*; Unger, *Education under Mao*; Shirk, *Competitive Comrades*.

[22] Among the three criteria considered in the selection process, academic achievement and

class origin took precedence over the third factor—political performance. Political performance was often relegated to a lesser role because of the inherent difficulty in distinguishing the genuine from the feigned.

[23] Rosen, *Red Guard Factionalism.*

[24] Unger, *Education under Mao*, p. 113.

[25] Rosen, *Red Guard Factionalism.*

[26] The most articulated attacks in this vein were made by Sheng-Wu-Lian, a rebel Red Guard organization in Hunan province, which alleged that the party bureaucracy had transformed itself into a privileged "new class." For a translation of the documents, see Klaus Mehnert, *Peking and the New Left, At Home and Abroad*, Research Monograph no. 4 (Berkeley: Center for Chinese Studies, 1974).

[27] Pepper, "Education and Revolution."

[28] There were wide variations across provinces, cities, or even schools in this regard. For details, please refer to Pepper, "Education and Revolution"; and also Suzanne Pepper, *Radicalism and Education Reform in Twentieth-Century China*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

[29] This was called "running schools in an open-door way." Students were sent out to factories and communes, as well as experimental fields and workshops set up by schools, to engage in manual labor for a certain part, say two months, of the year.

[30] Pepper, "Education and Revolution."

[31] See, for example, Unger, *Education under Mao*, chapter 10; Pepper, *Radicalism and Education Reform*, chapters 15 and 16.

[32] "Life Histories and Social Change in Contemporary China" survey was conducted in

1996, under the direction of Donald Treiman and Andrew Walder, using a nationally representative sample of rural and urban Chinese adults aged 20-69. It employed a multi-stage sampling procedure, while the primary unit of sampling is the county-level jurisdiction as defined by the Chinese Census Bureau (Tibet was excluded from the sample). See Donald J. Treiman, ed., *Life Histories and Social Change in Contemporary China: Provisional Codebook*, Donald Treiman and Andrew G. Walder, principal investigators, in collaboration with Department of Sociology, People's University, Beijing (Los Angeles: UCLA Institutes for Social Research, 1998).

[33] This study looks only at the urban population. This is because urban and rural populations in China differ greatly in educational attainment and other social characteristics (party membership, family class origins, etc.). Moreover, the focus of this study concerns educational transitions to elite institutions, which is mostly an urban phenomenon.

[34] Data are shown in 5-year average. That is, each point on the line graph indicates the mean years of education in the 5-year period.

[35] While the line may appear to level off in 1956, it does not mean the years of education started to stagnate *in that year*. Because the graph shows only the change between the five-year periods, it means that the average years in school did not increase from 1956-60 to 1961-65. See also note 33 above.

[36] Hans-Peter Blossfeld and Yossi Shavit, "Persistent Barriers: Changes in Educational Opportunities in Thirteen Countries," in *Persistent Inequality*, ed. by Shavit and Blossfeld, pp. 1-23.

[37] Here an important concept is "risk sets." A "risk set" refers to a group of individuals

who are eligible to enter an education level, e.g., those who completed primary school for junior high school entry, and so on.

[38] This excludes vocational and technical high schools.

[39] Pepper, "Education and Revolution"; Pepper, *Radicalism and Education Reform*.

[40] The decline was also due to the increasing number of vocational and technical schools in the 1980s, as economic reform created a new demand for personnel with specialized skills.

[41] Rosen, *Red Guard Factionalism*; Unger, *Education under Mao*; Shirk, *Competitive Comrades*.

[42] Chan, Rosen, and Unger, "Students and Class Warfare"; Rosen, *Red Guard Factionalism*; Unger, *Education under Mao*; Shirk, *Competitive Comrades*.

[43] Richard Kraus, "Class Conflict and the Vocabulary of Social Analysis in China," *China Quarterly* 69 (1977): 54-74; and also Richard Kraus, *Class Conflict in Chinese Socialism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981).

[44] It was also suggested in earlier studies that children of revolutionary cadres were less competent in academic work than those of "bad," or "exploiting," origins. See Rosen, *Red Guard Factionalism*; Unger, *Education under Mao*.

[45] It is based on the year respondents reached 16 years old.

[46] As mentioned above, political capital in this study refers to social connections and information networks based on party membership.

[47] I employ parents' college education or higher only for the analysis of college entry.

[48] This study does not use parents' "party membership" as the indicator for political capital, because party membership is a much broader category of politically reliable people with various backgrounds than "old cadres" (those who participated the revolutionary struggle

of the Communist Party before the Liberation) and high-ranking officials. In the sample of this study, there are 571 cases (17 percent) whose parents were party members when respondents were 14 years old, and 167 cases (5 percent) whose parents were either high-level cadres or had revolutionary-cadre class origins. The latter constituted an elite group in a narrower sense than the former.

[49] That is, the logistic regression model of the probability of entering levels of education. For this model and its differences from the linear regression model of years of education completed, see Robert D. Mare, "Social Background and School Continuation Decisions," *Journal of the American Statistical Association* 75 (1980): 295-305; and Robert D. Mare, "Change and Stability in Educational Stratification," *American Sociological Review* 46 (1981): 72-87. As suggested earlier, the effects of social origin variables on the mean years of schooling completed estimated by the linear regression model conflate the effects of the "distribution" and "allocation" of formal schooling, and therefore tend to overestimate the degree of equality achieved during rapid expansion of educational opportunities. This is especially problematic when applied to a society that experienced a rapid educational expansion such as the People's Republic.

[50] They are: the transitions from junior high school completion to senior high school entry; from primary school completion to key-point middle school entry; and from junior high school completion to college entry. Key-point middle schools include both junior high (or lower middle) and senior high (upper middle) schools. Some of them are administered separately, while others run together as a continuous 6-year program. The points of entry could be at junior high level or at senior high level. Accordingly, the risk set was set at the level of primary school graduates. The risk set for college entry is made for those who

completed junior high school, rather than senior high school. Chinese universities and colleges have admitted a substantial portion of students who were graduates of junior high schools. This is especially true during the Cultural Revolution when the "norm" was a three-year college course for students with the equivalent of a junior middle school education (see Pepper, "Education and Revolution," pp. 865-66). In the sample of this study, about 11 percent (35 cases) entered college without going to senior high school. There are also 3 percent (10 cases) that did not complete junior high school but gained college entry. I exclude the latter from the risk set.

[51] In this figure, as well as in figure 6 and 7, bars appeared in the chart indicate that the results are statistically significant (and therefore can be interpreted in a meaning way), while no bar means that they are not significant (and therefore can not be interpreted). And bars above the dotted line (at the odds ratio of one) indicate positive effects, while those below the line represent negative effects. For example, in figure 5, the bar labeled as "female" appears (below the dotted line) only in the period of 1977-96, and not in the other periods. This can be interpreted as follows: while no systematic gender difference in 1949-65 and 1966-76, female students was disadvantaged to male students in advancing to senior high school in 1977-96. Or the disadvantage associated with being female appeared for the first time in the post-Mao period.

[52] Emily Hannum and Yu Xie, "Trends in Educational Gender Inequality in China: 1949-1985," *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility* 13 (1994): 73-98.

[53] Pepper, "Education and Revolution."

[54] A student with both political and cultural capital had a 12-fold advantage (3 X 4).

[55] Rosen, *Red Guard Factionalism*; Shirk, *Competitive Comrades*; Unger, *Education under*

Mao.

[56] Suzanne Pepper, "Chinese Education after Mao: Two Steps Forward, Two Steps Back and Begin Again?" *China Quarterly* 81 (1980): 1-65, 16.

[57] While aware of the possibility that the social background of those who entered college in 1977-79 was different from those who entered in 1966-76, I decided to include 1977-1979 because of the smallness of the number of cases. In the following analysis, I try to interpret the possible background differences using an analysis separate from the logistic regression model.

[58] Rosen, *Red Guard Factionalism*; Unger, *Education under Mao*; Shirk, *Competitive Comrades*.

[59] Unger, *Education under Mao*, pp. 193-96.

[60] In the sample, 6 out of 8 (75 percent) youths from highly educated families who entered college in 1966-79 did so in the last three years of 1977-79.

[61] But remember that this is an urban sample, and therefore does not include rural peasants.

[62] It was also argued that "a substantial proportion of the rusticated youths who got in were from the families of party officials" (Unger, *Education under Mao*, p. 194).

[63] Unger, *Education under Mao*, chapter 10.

[64] Another form of college entry became prominent in the post-Mao period. "Party-sponsored" college entry involves a practice in which political activists gain college entry after they are admitted into the Party. See Bobai Li and Andrew G. Walder, "Career Advancement as Party Patronage: Sponsored Mobility into the Chinese Administrative Elite, 1949-1996," *American Journal of Sociology* 106 (2001): 1371-1408; and Bobai Li, "Manufacturing Meritocracy: Adult Education, Career Mobility, and Elite Transformation

in Socialist China" (Ph.D. Dissertation. Department of Sociology, Stanford University, 2001). Examination of possible intervening effects of this relatively recent pattern is beyond the scope of this study, which focuses on the intergenerational effects on educational attainment during the Cultural Revolution.